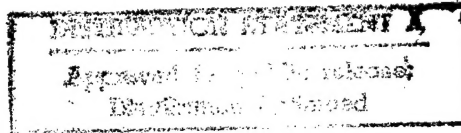


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5 October 1982



China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 345

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PARTY AND STATE

SIGNIFICANCE OF DISCUSSING DRAFT CONSTITUTION STRESSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Dong Li [5516 4539]: "Fully Developing the Spirit of Democracy and the Legal System"]

[Text] Sending the draft constitution for discussion by all the people is an important event in our people's political life. It is of far-reaching significance that, in the process of discussion, people will receive a universal education on the socialist legal system.

The draft constitution concretely realizes the union of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. The draft constitution further expands the people's democratic rights and defines that the people can exercise their power through various levels of people's congress to control state affairs and economic, cultural, and social affairs through legislative and other avenues, thus ensuring that the people participate in the governing of the state. In the chapter entitled "Basic rights and obligations of citizens," from Article 32 to 53, each article manifests the spirit of socialist democracy and the legal system. At the same time, the draft constitution specifically stipulates that "citizens' rights and obligations are inseparable." Citizens' rights are protected by the constitution and the law, but they must not be abused; citizens enjoy equal rights, but they also have equal obligations. Thus the draft constitution fully develops socialist democracy and joins in a sound union with the socialist legal system.

Articles in the draft constitution specifying democracy and the legal system are practical only under the socialist system. In feudal society, the emperor's word was law; the toiling masses had no democracy to speak of. In the capitalist system, under the banner of "democracy, equality, and liberty," the capitalist class uses parliamentary forms to engage in a power struggle to enrich themselves, with proletarian interests totally unrepresented. We are a country of people's democratic dictatorship, with constant attention given to people's democracy and a sound socialist legal system. We have traveled a tortuous road, however, mainly because the counterrevolutionary group of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing destroyed democracy and the legal system. Not until the "gang of four" was smashed were democracy and the legal system gradually restored and developed, and it cannot be an instant success. Owing to the erosion by capitalist thought and remnant feudal thought, there is

still an abnormal attitude among our cadres toward democracy and the legal system. For example, ignoring the principle of democratic centralism, some people are still keen on the practice of patriarchy, "rule by the voice of one man," decisions made by one man, the fear of rubbing influential people the wrong way like touching a tiger's bottom. In addition, some people still go in for capitalist liberalization and toy with anarchism. A very small number of people, in total disregard of law and discipline, sink in the morass of crime. All these practices call for our close attention; we must resolutely prevent and overcome these evil tendencies, uphold the state legal system, let people enjoy a high degree of democratic rights, use legal means to ensure the smooth progress of our modernizations, and seek visible improvement of party discipline, political style, and the people's morale.

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CSO: 4005/1162

PARTY AND STATE

LAW OF CONTRADICTION CLARIFIED THROUGH EXAMPLES

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jul 82 p 4

[Article on Popular Logic by Yu Siyi [0205 1835 5030]: "Only 99 Top Hats Left--Discussion on the Law of Contradiction"]

[Text] In the "New Collected Humor" there is an episode on flattery. A junior official was about to leave the capital to assume office in the province. He went to a senior official to bid farewell. The senior official told him, "It is not easy to function as a local official. Be very careful." The junior official replied, "Please be at ease. I have prepared 100 top hats of flattery to be presented to each one on the way. To be sure, everyone in the locality will be pleased." The senior official had a fit and said, "We are all decent people. How can you do something like this?" The junior official feigned distress [and asked], "How many people are there in the world who would shun flattery like you?" The senior official was very pleased and nodded his head, "You are quite right." The junior official came out and told his friend, "Of the 100 top hats of flattery I have prepared, only 99 are left."

In this episode, the attitude of the senior official violates the law of contradiction. What is the law of contradiction? The law of contradiction is that within the same process of thought, the contents cannot contradict each other. In other words, within the same period of time and under the same set of circumstances, one cannot affirm and negate a subject simultaneously. Otherwise, it would be self-contradictory, a fallacy in logic. In this episode, the senior official first considered that "flattery was not right"; when the junior official flattered him, he nodded his head and was obviously pleased. This is a self-contradiction, violating the basic law of contradiction.

This kind of fallacy is often encountered in daily life. For example, a young man was planning a big wedding. Some people advised him to depart from convention and make things simple. He said, "Yes, young people should not follow the convention of emphasizing sumptuousness and seeking momentary pleasure. However, in making things simple, I feel somewhat unpresentable." This young man first affirmed the premise that weddings of young people should be "simple" and then said that, for his own face, he should not make things "simple." The second part of his speech in fact negated the first

part of his speech; this is a fallacy of logic under the law of contradiction. Another example: On the one hand, some cadres always talk about how young people should follow the assignments made by the organization, or how "young men should aspire to prove themselves in the far corners of the world," or how "young people should toughen themselves in adversity." On the other hand, they employ every means available to get an easy job in a big city for their children. This is also a self-contradiction.

We can consciously control and use the law of contradiction to the following advantages:

First, we can avoid confusion in thought and contradictions in logic. For example, a notice urges concerned departments in municipalities and counties to improve workstyle to the end that leading cadres of rural communes will not be summoned for meetings, so that they can concentrate on summer harvest and summer planting. It goes on to say that if cadres are summoned for a meeting, they must get approval from the municipal or county party committee. This notice is self-contradictory, stating "concerned departments [should] avoid summoning leading cadres of rural communes" as well as "if they are summoned for a meeting"; therefore it violates the law of contradiction. If it is changed to "if possible, [cadres of rural communes] should not be summoned for a meeting" or "unless necessary, do not call leading comrades for a meeting," the contradiction in the text can be avoided.

Second, the law of contradiction can be used to point out misconstrued actions and serve as a weapon for ideological struggle. In the Warring States period, Gongsu Ban helped the Kingdom of Chu to build a scaling ladder to attack the Kingdom of Song. Mozi deliberately asked him to help eliminate an enemy and said, "I can pay you." Gongshu Ban angrily retorted, "I am a moral person; I do not kill." Mozi said, "You talk about morality and are unwilling to kill one man, but you help the Kingdom of Chu to attack the Kingdom of Song and kill many people. Can we say that you understand the difference between the multitude and the individual?" Here Mozi used the law of contradiction to point out and criticize Gongshu Ban's action. We can also apply this law in our struggle against misconstrued actions.

Of course, in applying this law, we must be careful not to confuse contradiction in logic with the inner contradiction of objective matter or contradiction in dialectics. For example, "Today he is a student; 10 years from now he will be a teacher." This is not a mistake in logic, because the time reference is different. "Make light of enemies in strategy but pay serious attention to enemies in tactics" is not a contradiction in logic, for it deals with different approaches. "Water is liquid at normal temperatures but solid under 0°C" refers to different conditions, and is therefore not a contradiction. In rhetoric, there are also seemingly contradictory aphorisms: "Veteran boxers perish under fists; veteran swimmers perish under water." "Failure is the mother of success," etc. We must make a clear distinction concerning these aspects.

9507

CSO: 4005/1162

PARTY AND STATE

'THREE BELIEFS,' ADHERENCE TO 'FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES' STRESSED

Strengthen Beliefs

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 17 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Leaders of the Municipal Party Committee Point Out at the Commencement Assembly of Two Classes at the Party School: Party Members and Cadres Must Strengthen 'Three Beliefs'"]

[Text] Yesterday morning, the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee party school held its commencement assembly for its eighth cadres rotationary training class and fifth theoretical training class; President Chen Guodong [7115 0948 2767], first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee party school, presided over the session. Hu Lijiao [5170 4539 2403], second secretary of the municipal committee and Zhong Min [6945 3046], secretary of the municipal committee, also attended. Comrades Chen Guodong and Hu Lijiao spoke at the assembly.

In their talks they stressed that party members and cadres of the whole municipality must seek further to understand the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, improve their perception of the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, and keep steadfast their "three beliefs" (namely, belief in their adherence to the four basic principles, belief in the principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and belief in the leadership of the party Central Committee). They also emphasized in their talks that we must first seek to rebuild the party ideologically and strengthen the party's ideological and political work. Only by achieving ideological consistency can we accomplish organizational consistency. As to how to strengthen our party's ideological and political work, the main thing is to propagate correctly the line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, use the spirit of the third plenary session as our weapon to arm the vast ranks of our party members and cadres, and make them understand correctly the essence of the spirit from the third plenary session to the sixth plenary session, heighten their consciousness in implementing the party's current principles and policies, and politically maintain consistency with the party Central Committee.

Apart from all the students, those attending the commencement assembly also included more than 400 leading members of various regions, counties, and bureaus, and the Shanghai deputies scheduled to attend the party's forthcoming 12th National Congress.

Adherence to Principles

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 29 Jun 82 p 3

[Commentary by Li Ping [2621 1627]: "Adhere to the Four Basic Principles During the Great Shift"]

[Text] The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee opened our triumphant channel of navigation toward a socialist modern power; this constituted a great shift of far-reaching significance in the history of our party. During the past 4 years, while marching along the Marxist political line, and the ideological organizational line reestablished by the party we have scored a series of brilliant achievements. When welcoming the 60th anniversary of the birth of our great CPC we saw that our economic situation was getting better year after year and our political situation also was becoming more and more stable each year. Practice has proved: the line, principles and policies established by the party since the third plenary session are entirely correct and our party Central Committee is entirely trustworthy.

In order to continue to implement the line, principles and policies the party has established since the third plenary session and make a go of our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization, the most important thing at present is to heighten our consciousness in adhering to the four basic principles and unswervingly to implement the four basic principles. Just as the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee points out: "The four basic principles are the common political foundation for the unity of the whole party and the unity of the people of the country's various nationalities; they are also the fundamental guarantee for the smooth advancement of the cause of our socialist modernization."

The four basic principles of socialist path, people's democratic dictatorship, Communist Party leadership, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought prescribe the nature of our society, the form of our state, the leading position of our party, and the guiding ideology of the undertakings of our revolution and construction. They are the four indispensable pillars of our socialist motherland. This is the bedrock of our state. It concerns the consolidation of the fruits of the people's revolution, it concerns the success or failure of our four modernizations, and it concerns the future and destiny of party and state.

The four basic principles are the historic choice of the millions of people of China through their long struggle. For over 100 years, countless determined men and revolutionary martyrs have for the purpose of saving our nation and saving our people followed one upon the fall of another in exploring various paths and carrying out all kinds of experiments; but all these efforts failed and countless determined men died a frustrated man's death. The

liberal faction of the landlords once thought of following the path of "enriching the country and strengthening its military"; but the foreign guns and cannons they bought from abroad, along with a small fleet, helplessly sank and succumbed in the midst of the roaring salvos of the 1894 naval battle. The reformist faction of the bourgeoisie once resorted to a 100-day reform; but Guangxu was a powerless emperor and, under the butchering knife of the Empress Dowager, the 6 gentlemen died their martyrs' death at Chaishikou. Hence the 1898 reform, too, dissipated. The revolutionary faction of the bourgeoisie led by Sun Zhongshan struggled for over 30 years and succeeded in ultimately overthrowing the rule of China's last emperor; but, after the founding of the Republic, China failed to become rich and strong; instead, it sank into even deeper and graver disasters.

Whither China? With their lives and blood, the martyrs wrote the following line of words: only socialism can save China. Achievements scored in the 33 years since the founding of our state prove with irrefutable facts that socialism not only continues to shine more and more brilliantly in theory but also develops vigorously ahead in practice; it has demonstrated its great vitality.

During these 33 years since the founding of our state, our party has led the people of our entire country to accomplish the task of socialist transformation of the private ownership of means of production and carry out gargantuan socialist construction. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee made the strategic decision to shift the focus of the party's work to socialist modernization, our national economy, in particular, has been able to embark upon a course of steady development. Today, we have already forged an independent, fairly complete socialist industrial system and national economic system. Because the party Central Committee has adopted a series of correct policies, our agriculture has scored fairly extensive development, which has basically solved the food and clothing problems for 1 billion people. On the basis of the developing industrial and agricultural production, our people's material life and cultural life have undergone considerable improvement. Our efforts to build a socialist modern power thus have acquired a powerful material base.

More than 130 years ago, Marx and Engels projected in their "Communist Manifesto" that, after the revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party acceded to power, it should adopt 10 measures to reform the old society. Looking back at our achievements since the founding of our state, except for certain individual articles, all the rest have exceeded the steps listed in that program. The great ideals of Marx and Engels have already become living facts under our party leadership and through the practice of China's various nationalities. In respect to the communist movement, we have already accomplished the tasks of several historical stages, and the achievement of all these successes has resulted from adhering to the four basic principles.

In the "preamble" of the Draft of the Revised Constitution promulgated recently by the NPC Standing Committee, this basic historical experience is recorded and reaffirmed; it clearly prescribes that the Chinese people shall

continue to adhere to the four basic principles and struggle for the realization of the fundamental tasks of the new era. This event indicates: not only all of our Communist Party members must abide by the four basic principles but every citizen of the PRC must also take following the four basic principles as his incumbent obligation; not only our generation must adhere to them but our posterity, too, generation after generation, must adhere to them until communism is realized.

The most important among the four basic principles are: adherence to the socialist path, and adherence to party leadership. These two are closely linked and inseparable from each other. In China, it is never possible to adhere to the socialist path without the Communist Party. On the other hand, to see whether our party leadership is correct or not, steadfast or not, is precisely to see whether it adheres to the socialist path. The reason why we say that the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is a great shift of far-reaching significance is precisely because since that third plenary session we have fundamentally cast off the influence of "leftist" mistakes and enabled the people of the whole country to understand clearly our general direction of adhering to the socialist path and our general task of realizing the four modernizations during the new historical era.

The magnificent goal of adhering to the socialist path and realizing our socialist modernization requires several basic guarantees. Since spring of this year, while reinforcing the building of our material civilization, our party Central Committee and State Council have at the same time grasped several big matters; to start an institutional reform with the State Council; to crack-down on serious criminal activities in the economic realm and launch a struggle among Communist Party members and the state's working personnel to adhere to communist purity and oppose corruption and degeneration; to reinforce the building of our socialist spiritual civilization and carry out among the masses of the people an education in communist ideology and communist morality in a clear-cut manner and without deviating from reality. And keeping in mind the above tasks, continue to rectify the party and strengthen and improve party leadership. To do these tasks well is of great significance to our adherence to the socialist path and to the realization of our socialist modernization. To do a good job in our institutional reform is going to be a great help in really overcoming bureaucratism, greatly improving our work efficiency, and earnestly changing those very serious malpractices of the past, such as mutual wrangling between those above and below, and those on one side and the other, mutual shifting of responsibilities, allowing documents to travel indefinitely thus postponing decisions forever. All this shall serve to help our socialist system demonstrate its thriving vitality. Cracking down on serious criminal activities in the economic realm and launching the struggle against corrosion by the bourgeois ideology are especially directly related to the success or failure, the rise or fall, of our socialist modernization. During this new historical era, we have carried out our policy of opening to the outside world externally and enlivening our economy internally, and practice has proved that this policy has been entirely correct. At the same time, we must also clearly see that we have already developed economic and trade intercourse with 174 countries and areas of the world. Domestically,

while in the regions where the socialist transformation of means of production is accomplished the exploitative classes as classes have already been eliminated, the remnant forces and influences of those exploitative classes still exist. Intact exploitative classes still exist in Taiwan, Penghu, Jinmen and Mazu and other areas like Hong Kong and Macao. While implementing our policy of opening to the outside world externally and enlivening our economy internally under such circumstances, capitalist ideas are bound to take advantage and corrode us. Among the people or even party and state organs and cadres there are some infirm elements susceptible to corrosion by such capitalist ideas. They resort to smuggling and trading in contraband goods, corruption and bribetaking, speculation and deception, and stealing of state and collective properties and thus play great havoc on our cause of socialist modernization. We are determined to carry forward on a long-range basis the struggle to crack-down on economic criminals and to counter corrosion by capitalist ideas. At the same time we are determined to reinforce the building of our socialist spiritual civilization, adhere to and improve our party leadership, educate party members and cadres to maintain their communist purity, educate the people, especially youths and children, to elevate our national self-respect, self-confidence, and thereby turn our people into idealistic, moralistic, cultured, and discipline-abiding people. In a word, by doing a good job in carrying out the above tasks and enabling the vast ranks of our cadres and masses to really establish their firm belief in the four basic principles, their firm belief in the line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and their firm belief in the leadership of the current party Central Committee, we shall be more confident and more hopeful as well as more resourceful in our effort to run our country well and to realize the goal of our struggle for socialist modernization.

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CSO: 4005/1106

PARTY AND STATE

TAIPING WARD'S CASE HANDLING WORK COMMENDED

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Taiping Ward Does Xinfang [0207 6078] Work Conscientiously; No Case Backlog for 2 Years in Succession"]

[Text] Taiping Ward takes xinfang work very seriously and has brought the "3-level case handling network" into full play to resolve questions at the grassroots level. The ward has had no case backlog for 2 years in succession and very few people have taken their complaints to higher levels, so the ward has been commended by the provincial and municipal departments concerned.

The ward convenes regular working meetings of the ward party committee and ward chiefs to research specifically xinfang work and to strengthen leadership strength of ward and grassroots level units' xinfang work. The ward, sections (bureaus), and rural grassroots levels have established xinfang leadership teams forming a case-handling network. Ward level leadership also maintains a duty system of regularly accepting directly complaints from the masses and personally handling cases sent up to them. In the case handling process they rely heavily on doing xinfang work together with the sections, specially researching and resolving questions with the unit involved. A ward joint company, when building business offices, had a dispute with the residents of the neighborhood. The project's time limit extended 2 months at a loss of over 10,000 yuan. The ward xinfang section called on comrades of six departments, including city-building and public security, to handle the case together with the result that in just 2-1/2 days the problem was resolved.

Under the influence of irregular style it is often the case that "once the case is received both sides try to use pull." They uphold principles, they will not be swayed by personal relationships, the personnel handling the case will not accept entertainment or gifts and this meets with the universal approval of people who have taken cases to higher levels. They also do a conscientious job of ideological and political work with the people who take complaints to higher levels so that many of these people can see the general situation, understand the whole picture and take the initiative to relax their own ungrounded or excessive demands so that the contradictions take a favorable turn to a better resolution of the problem.

8226

CSO: 4005/1000

PARTY AND STATE

CITIZENS' EFFORTS HELP AUTHORITIES REDUCE CRIME

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Harbin's Public Order Gets Better Daily; Relying on the Masses To Implement Comprehensive Administration Gets Results"]

[Text] Reporters learned from the Public Security Bureau that this year public order in Harbin has improved daily, the rate of criminal cases has declined, public security cases have clearly decreased and the masses have a greater sense of security. Criminal cases city-wide in May were at the lowest level for any month in the last 2 years, a decline of 24.7 percent over the same period last year, and public security cases declined 21.5 percent compared to the same period last year and all major cases which occurred in May have been broken.

Under the leadership of the municipal party committee, party organizations at all levels in Harbin have made the reorganization of public order work part of their agenda and conscientiously established measures to "teach, attack, defend against and reorganize." Over 80 percent of the units in the city have built healthy public order responsibility systems and strengthened comprehensive administrative work. The Daoli Ward Party Committee extended its experience in fostering neighborhood offices to educate and place young people who have gone astray; established neighborhood public order corps, joint plant-neighborhood defense corps and mass joint defense corps; strengthened the public order lookout and the incidence of cases for April and May dropped to the best levels in history.

In reorganizing public order work, party committees at all levels relying on the masses, have trained and developed a large group of public order activists and have raised the masses' initiative to struggle against evil deeds and evil-doers. From January to May the masses uncovered over 1,000 clues to crimes which led directly to the seizure of 98 criminals and at the same time the model figures in protecting public order Guo Zhijian [6753 1807 1017] and Meng Fanda [1322 4907 1129] came to the fore.

Under the leadership of the party committee, municipal judicial organs, relying heavily on the masses, strengthened investigation and trial work, promptly cracked many important cases, strictly and speedily sentenced in accordance with the law a group of criminals who had severely disrupted public order and vigorously attacked the arrogance of criminals.

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CSO: 4005/1000

PARTY AND STATE

PROPOSALS MADE TO IMPROVE QUALITY OF SERVICES

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "Comrade Yang Yichen Makes Proposal at Report-back Meeting on Songhua-jiang Department Store Reorganization; Deal With the 'Four Relationships,' Resolve 'Three Lows and One Deficiency,'"]

[Text] Four Relationships: Between Foreign and Domestic Goods, Between Out-of-Province and In-Province Goods, Between Large Commodities and Small Commodities, Between Wholesale and Retail; Three Lows and One Deficiency: Low Political Quality, Low Cultural Level, Low Technical and Business Ability and Deficiency in Quality of Service

Recently at the report back meeting on reorganization of the Songhua-jiang Department Store, Yang Yichen [2799 2496 6591], first secretary of the Heilong-jiang Party Committee, said that in commerce we should correctly handle the "four relationships" and resolve the question of "three lows and one deficiency" in the employee ranks.

After hearing the report on reorganization work in the Songhua-jiang Department Store he said, you handled the "four relationships" well and summarized the experience of correctly handling the question of the four relationships between foreign and domestic goods, out-of-province goods and in-province goods, large commodities and small commodities and wholesale and retail. The key to the "four relationships" is the relationship between foreign and domestic and we cannot squeeze out domestic goods because we sell foreign goods. We should vigorously popularize domestic goods and actively market them. Commercial sections should expand competition of marketing local goods and promote the improvement and growth of local industrial products.

Comrade Yang Yichen said that the question of the "three lows and one deficiency" among many employees, which you mentioned, you have stressed well and accurately. We should resolutely go on stressing and resolving the problems of low political quality, low cultural level, low technical and business level and deficiency in quality of service. The key to resolving the "three lows and one deficiency" is resolving the question of the deficiency of the quality of service. We should carry out comprehensive training in ideology and politics, culture, business and technology, and quality of service.

Comrade Yang Yichen said to correctly handle the "four relationships" and "three lows and one deficiency" demands that commercial employees conscientiously research new trends in present market development. The market in the past was a supply and demand one and stores "worried about people coming in but not about selling," and there were lines to buy many things. Now because supply not meeting demand has become supply exceeding demand, most stores "worry about selling and not about people coming in." This change places even higher demands on commerce and they can no longer go on "doing old gentleman business." Industrial sections should stress raising quality one notch, produce products which are both good and inexpensive and suited to the market to satisfy society's needs.

Comrade Yang Yichen stressed that we should continue to stress civilized and polite behavior to make it normal and systematic. To control "deficiency" in the stores we should have a good service attitude and excellent service quality.

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CSO: 4005/1000

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY BUILDING, IMPROVEMENT OF PARTY LEADERSHIP DISCUSSED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO, in Chinese 2 Jul 82 p 1

[Report by Zhang Yanjun [1728 1693 6511]: "On the Question of How To Strengthen Party Building, Improve Party Leadership: Municipal Party Committee Convenes Forum for Representatives of Advanced Party Branches and Fine Party Members--In His Speech Duan Junyi Demands Further Display of Model Role by Party Members and Fighting Fortress Role by Party Branches"]

[Text] In the afternoon of the party's birthday--1 July--, the CCP Beijing Municipal Committee convened a forum for representatives of advanced party branches and fine party members on the question of how to strengthen party building and how to improve party leadership.

Fifty-seven representatives of advanced party branches, fine party members and new party members from the municipality's industrial, capital construction, agricultural, financial and trade, cultural and educational, scientific and technological, public health, physical education, political and legal, and neighborhood fronts attended the forum upon invitation. Among them there are old cadres and old professors with grey sideburns, there are also university students admitted into the party during the past two years; there are representatives from advanced party branches that have paid attention to strengthening party building and played the role of a fighting fortress in the struggle against corrosion by capitalist ideas, there are also labor models and advanced journalists who have placed their vanguard and model roles in the building of our spiritual civilization and material civilization in the capital and who have also achieved conspicuous results. Party branch secretary of the Doudian production brigade of Fangshan County Ni Zhenliang [0242 2182 0081], deputy director and chief engineer of the Beijing wool textile mill Dai Xiusheng [2071 4423 3932], department store supersalesman and national labor model Zhang Binggui [1728 4426 6311], vice chairman of the Beijing branch of the Writers Association of China Luo Binji [7482 6333 1015], Beijing University professor Duan Xuefu [3008 1331 1788], and secretary of the party branch at Beijing's No 41 Middle School Wei Renxia [7614 3387 7209] and others, altogether 11, made statements at the forum. They excitedly praised our great party and illustrated with their personal experiences as to how party leadership has been the fundamental guarantee for the triumphant advance of our

cause. On whatever front and in whatever work, we must adhere to our party leadership; any inclination to weaken or cast off our party leadership would be very harmful and must be resolutely corrected. In order to strengthen and improve our party leadership, we must unswervingly implement our party's line, principles and policies, and unswervingly do a good job in upholding our party workstyle and party discipline and reinforcing our own party building work. They maintained that, as members of the glorious CCP the responsibilities we shoulder are very heavy; communists of the entire municipality should strive to serve as models in strengthening their party concept, strengthening their party character cultivation, implementing party resolutions, and abiding by party discipline and the laws of the state; they should strive to serve as models in inheriting and demonstrating the party's glorious tradition and workstyle, consciously resisting all unhealthy practices, adhering to the communist ideology, and guarding against corrosion by capitalist idea; and they should strive to serve as models in giving full scope to their vanguard and model roles, realizing the Central Secretariat's four directives concerning the principles of construction in the capital, and doing a good job in building our spiritual civilization and building our material civilization in the capital.

Leading comrades of the municipal party committee Duan Junyi [3008 0689 3015], Jiao Ruoyu [3542 5387 1946], Chen Xitong [7115 1585 0681], and Ye Lin [5509 2651] and responsible comrades of the municipal people's congress standing committee and various departments, subcommittees and offices of the municipal party committee all attended the forum. Comrade Duan Junyi gave the final speech. He pointed out that after the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party workstyle has taken a considerable turn for the better. Since last year, in the matter of party building, our party organizations at various levels have according to the municipal party committee's deployment again done a great deal of work, heightened our party's fighting stamina, and thereby promoted the building of our spiritual civilization and material civilization in the capital. But in our construction work in the capital today, we still have not a few problems and defects, and there is still a considerable gap between our work and the demands of the central authorities and the masses. We must further strengthen and improve our party leadership and seriously grasp party building. He asked relevant departments of the municipal party committee to seriously organize and spread the experiences of these advanced branches, commend these fine party members, so as to further demonstrate party members' vanguard and model roles and the party branches' fighting fortress role. At present, we are determined to grasp well our ideological education in guarding against corrosion by capitalist ideas and adhering to the communist ideology, and to lead the masses in their effort to fulfill and over-fulfill their various tasks this year.

9255

CSO: 4005/1113

PARTY AND STATE

EMULATION OF THE SPIRIT OF LEI FENG URGED

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 6 (1982) pp 78-79

[Article by Yi Lu [5065 7627]: "Let the Spirit of Lei Feng Once Again Become Fashionable in China"]

[Text] I recall that during the period of the 10 years of turmoil, faced with a time when the social atmosphere was steadily deteriorating and relations between people were daily becoming more superficial, someone suddenly spoke these words: "Alas, Uncle Lei Feng is not around any more!"

It was a strange saying since, it is said, it was spoken with a sigh by a mother carrying a baby on an extremely crowded bus, and finally spread like wildfire to every corner of the country, becoming a pet phrase that was known to every household. When the "gang of four" heard of it, they were exasperated, categorized it as "political rumor," and tried to trace it to its source.

Actually, the "gang of four," in their hearts, knew better than anyone else that this so-called "political rumor" was nothing more than the broad masses' expression of indignation over their perverse methods, and was nothing more than the people's expression of nostalgia about having studied Lei Feng before the "Cultural Revolution."

Of course, there are deepgoing reasons why this study of Lei Feng could not be forgotten by people for very long. It is because in the person of Comrade Lei Feng there was a concentrated manifestation of the excellent traditions of our party, Marxism-Leninism, the moral force of Mao Zedong Thought, a whole series of standards appropriate to socialist spiritual civilization, and the noble character of the new communist man. For this reason, when Comrade Lei Feng was first introduced in the newspapers and periodicals, it moved the hearts of the broad mass of readers. After Comrade Mao Zedong personally wrote an article on the topic of "Emulating Lei Feng" on 5 March 1963, people of all ranks throughout the country immediately responded positively to the call, and it immediately set off a mass fervor for emulation that attracted universal attention. Although this mass enthusiasm was maintained for only a bit over 3 years, the effect it produced is hard to estimate. The broad masses have heightened their ideological awareness, the enterprise of the socialist revolution and socialist construction is flourishing more and more

every day, and a scene of flourishing development has appeared. It is completely accurate to say that if the later "Cultural Revolution" had not interrupted this movement of emulating Lei Feng while it was ascendant, our country's level of spiritual civilization would certainly not be in the unfortunate condition it is in today.

What is worth rejoicing about is that after the collapse of the "gang of four," due to a whole series of efforts by the party to bring order out of chaos, particularly its efforts made since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Comrade Lei Feng, who had been left out in the cold for so many years, has ended up coming back into our lives again! The party and the people, who have experienced great bitterness during the 10 years of turmoil, cherish the memory of Comrade Lei Feng more than at any time in the past; they understand the value of his spirit more, and once again a high tide of emulating Lei Feng has begun to form. We are happy to see that even though the 10 years of turmoil have left in their wake a serious degree of spiritual and moral corruption, and though party practices and practices among the people have, with respect to certain units and certain individuals, already been spoiled to a painful degree, nevertheless, on every front there are still large numbers of determined warriors who conscientiously carry on with and display the spirit of Lei Feng. They are doing their utmost to make the country strong in realizing the great enterprise of the motherland's four modernizations. This heartening phenomenon is precisely the blooming again of the resplendent flower of the spirit of Lei Feng in the new historical period.

Without any doubt, the emulation of Comrade Lei Feng should be a common topic for study of the entire party, all the military, and the people of the entire country. However, I believe that first of all it should be the topic of study for young people. Because, young people bear the historical mission of carrying forward our revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future. When we are speaking of young people, what kind of person they are going to be is exceedingly important. Forgive me for saying it directly but, though surely the majority of today's youth are good or comparatively good, still there really are quite a few of them who are ignorant and muddleheaded, lacking in revolutionary ideals, and single mindedly concerned with so-called "material benefits." There are also individuals who are even totally undisciplined and defiant, committing all kinds of illegal and outrageous acts. How can we educate, and rescue, these people? We should adopt effective measures, and systematically and patiently guide them in emulating Lei Feng. Lenin said that the force of a good example is boundless. In this regard, Lei Feng without doubt is the best kind of good example.

What should be pointed out here is that there are some who consider themselves to be "disillusioned with the world" and are actually malignantly swelled up with bourgeois individualism, who not only are not willing to emulate Lei Feng themselves but have a derisive attitude toward other people's emulation of him. In their view, the spirit of Lei Feng is a kind of "alienation" in violation of human nature. I have heard of a student at a certain university who had the audacity to ridicule Lei Feng in a composition as follows: "Oh

Lei Feng, Lei Feng, you're really a common soldier of the sixties who's stupid enough to be lovable." This kind of person does not possess very noble sentiments himself, so naturally it would be hard for him to understand Lei Feng; this really is an example of "The summer insect cannot speak of ice." Lei Feng was a new communist man who in the process of constantly remaking his subjective and objective worlds employed the weapons of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Zhou Enlai in one of his forewords pointed out: "Emulation of Comrade Lei Feng [consists of]: a class standpoint with hates and loves clearly discerned; a revolutionary spirit that is consistent in speech and action; public-spirited, selfless communist practices; and a proletarian fighting spirit that defies personal danger." These four phrases precisely epitomize the spirit and temperament of Lei Feng. This is glory of Lei Feng's thorough breaking with the exploitive classes' concepts of selfishness and personal advantage. It [the spirit and temperament of Lei Feng] possesses the noble, excellent virtues of our age, noble sentiments, and the spirit of revolutionary humanitarianism. It not only is not an alienation from human nature; on the contrary, it is closest in accord with human nature. Some people's use of the phrase "alienation from human nature" to oppose the emulation of Lei Feng is completely unreasonable; and this kind of view is particularly harmful today when the entire party, the entire military, and the people of the entire country are building socialist spiritual civilization on a grand scale.

Let us widen our field of vision to look at the future, the day when the spirit of Lei Feng will once again be fashionable in China; that will be a time when the enterprise of the four modernizations will have great hope. Comrades, let us struggle together to realize this goal!

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CSO: 4005/1054

PARTY AND STATE

CHEN DUXIU'S HANDLING OF REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP VIEWED

Wuhan JIANGHAN LUNTAN [CHANGJIANG AND HAN RIVER FORUM] in Chinese No 7, 15 Jul 82 pp 51-57

[Article by Qian Feng [6926 2800] and Liu Qifa [0491 0366 4099]: "On Chen Duxiu's [7115 3747 4423] Interpretation and Practice of Revolutionary Leadership"]

[Text] When we study the first Guomindang-Communist cooperation and summarize the experiential lessons of the period, naturally we must explore the revolutionary leadership issue. For this reason, we must analyze the interpretation of the issue and the practice of Chen Duxiu, the main leader of the CCP at that time. We find that there was an obvious difference in his interpretation and practice of the revolutionary leadership before and after the Guomindang-Communist cooperation. Before the cooperation, he gave serious attention to the strength of the worker class and its leadership role in the revolutionary movement; afterward, he vacillated on the issue, but the general tendency was from vacillation to compromise and finally capitulation.

I. During the period of the 4 May Movement, China's proletariat ascended the political arena. Thereupon, the chant of "labor is sacred" resounded over all the land and the discussion of the labor issue reached a high tide. Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao [2621 1129 6856] were the leaders. When waging a polemic against anarchism, Chen Duxiu began to plunge into the worker movement, propagandized Marxism, aroused the consciousness of the worker class and helped create labor unions. From April 1920 to July 1921, he attended meetings of worker organizations in Shanghai and Guangzhou and served as adviser to the worker movement. In April 1920, he gave a speech entitled "the Consciousness of the Laborer" at the federation of shipping and warehouse workers. "Among the various kinds of people in society, only the workers are the pillars," he pointed out, "and only the working people are the most useful and most valuable, because only by their strength is society propped up." He also pointed out that "the labor movement of the 20th century has reached the time to demand for management power," i.e., "the power of the laborers in politics, military affairs and industry and their position as rulers." In August

1920, he supervised the creation of the popular worker weekly LAIDONGJIE [LABOR WORLD]. Participating in the preparatory meeting of the Shanghai Machine Workers' Union "as an observer" on 3 October, he gave a speech, stating that, if the workers' organization is "completely united, then all organizations in society will be under its control, and even the government has to come under its control."¹ The Shanghai Machine Workers' Union was the first labor union under our party's leadership, and its creation was inseparable from Chen Duxiu's effort. In December of the same year, he pointed out: "The fight of China's labor (peasants and workers) organization against the capitalists and capitalism is the fight to defend China's independence; only the labor organization can achieve the goal of China's independence."² In short, in the period before the founding of the CCP, Chen Duxiu gave serious attention to the strength of the worker class and its role in the revolution.

After the founding of the CCP, Chen Duxiu's recognition of the strength of the worker class progressed further. In his reply to anarchist Huang Lingshuang [7806 0407 7208], he said: "To enforce the revolutionary/proletarian dictatorship, the proletariat must have a strong organizational strength and fighting power; to create such a strong organizational strength and fighting power, we must have a strong communist party as the vanguard and leader of the proletariat."³ Upon the first surge of the worker movement under the party's leadership, Chen Duxiu declared confidently: "After the national revolution eliminates foreign aggression and domestic unrest, the position created by the proletariat through its effort may not necessarily fail to surpass the bourgeoisie; it can be inferred by the fact that the current proletarian revolutionary tendency surpasses the bourgeoisie...."⁴

In the revolutionary movement, what should be the position of the proletariat? When discussing the laboring class, viz., the workers and the peasants, Chen Duxiu gave special attention to the historical role of the worker class. "The Marxist 'Communist Manifesto,'" he said, "from the first page to the last, is a lecture on the historical necessity of the class struggle.... All Marx's works advocate revolutionary actions by the proletariat against the propertied class."⁵ Prior thereto, in the "Chinese Communist Party Manifesto" drafted under his supervision, his thinking on the historical mission of the proletariat and the proletarian leadership of the revolution was very distinct.

What must be pointed out is that Chen Duxiu's recognition of the strength of the worker class and the issue of the revolutionary leadership power started to a large extent from China's direct launching of the proletarian revolution. In other words, Chen Duxiu was then still propagandizing the general principles of Marxism. Naturally, such propaganda was necessary, because it helped raise the consciousness of the worker class and eliminate the anarchist influence. At that time, some people accepted scientific socialism because of the propaganda. Nevertheless, what was the nature of China's society at that time? What was the mission of the revolution? What measures and means should be adopted to complete China's

revolution? Issues such as these were not solved by Chen Duxiu, nor properly by other party leaders. At that time, the entire party felt that, like the October Revolution of the Soviet Union, China must directly launch a proletarian revolution. The "Chinese Communist Party Program" passed at the First Party Congress reflects the understanding level of the entire party.

II. The Guomindang-Communist cooperation was created and the form of cooperation was for the CCP members to join the Guomindang. The reason was because the worker class and the CCP were still weak, while Sun Zhongshan's Guomindang, relatively speaking, was fairly strong and enjoyed a greater prestige among the masses. Under such balance of strengths and form of cooperation, how to preserve the independence of the proletarian political party and how to achieve the leadership power of the proletariat in the bourgeois democratic revolution became more complex and therefore, more crucial. As proved by the facts, from theory to practice, Chen Duxiu, as the party's main leader, failed to solve the two issues correctly. In chronological order, we will examine step by step his record from vacillation, compromise to capitulation.

1. 1923--April 1924

After the "7 February" Great Strike, Chen Duxiu shifted his attention from the worker class to the bourgeoisie. His article entitled "the Bourgeois Revolution and the Revolutionary Bourgeoisie," published in XIANGDAO [GUIDE] Weekly, 25 April 1923, was a clear indication of the shift. According to him, "if the democratic revolution of the bourgeoisie loses the support of the bourgeoisie, it will have no class significance and social foundation." Though at the time he did not exclude the role of the worker class in the democratic revolution, he actually regarded the bourgeoisie as the only social foundation for China's bourgeois democratic revolution and found the strength of the worker class negligible. He said at the end of 1923: "While the various social classes in colonies and semi-colonies are all infantile, the strength of the bourgeoisie is after all more centralized than the peasants and stronger than the workers." He also said that China's worker class "is not an independent revolutionary force.... The majority of the workers is still sound asleep in a patriarchal society... does not feel a political need, and has not broken away from the superstition in the divine monarchical power." Therefore, he concluded that "the greatest majority of China's workers does not have the need and potential of political struggles."⁶

Who should lead the democratic revolution? According to Chen Duxiu, "if they truly want a revolution, all democratic revolutionary elements should rally around the democratic revolutionary Guomindang before there is any hope to oust the warlords." If everyone hoists a new banner, it will be frivolity and ostentation, not revolution."⁷ He also said: "At this crucial moment, the Guomindang should rise and lead the people to pursue the revolutionary movement."⁸ If advocating the Guomindang as the banner and the leader of the democratic revolutionary forces was out of strategic

considerations, there was nothing wrong with it in itself, because at that time the Guomindang was in the course of reorganizing into a revolutionary alliance of the various classes and turning into the organizational form of the united front. But the question was how to analyze the class nature of the Guomindang and whether we should fight for its party power.

One should say that, though the Guomindang before its reorganization included the anti-Manchurian faction of the landowner class, it was still a bourgeois political party; after reorganization, it became a democratic revolutionary alliance of workers, peasants, the petit bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, and the basic class attributes of the alliance depended on the class which controlled the leadership power. However, Chen Duxiu's understanding of these issues was vague. As early as at the Xihu Meeting in August 1922, he declared emphatically that the Guomindang was mainly a bourgeois political party; therefore, he opposed joining it. Not long thereafter, namely, in September of the same year, he denied that the Guomindang was a bourgeois political party, claiming that, "to date, no political party representing the bourgeoisie has emerged, indicating that China's bourgeoisie has not expanded."⁹ In view of such understanding, naturally it was impossible for him to be on guard against the usurpation of the revolutionary leadership by the bourgeoisie. Not only thus, but he even advocated: "The present mission of the Chinese Guomindang and the right path should be: Take command of the revolutionary bourgeoisie, rally the revolutionary proletariat and accomplish the bourgeois democratic revolution."¹⁰ At the Third Party Congress, he and Ma Lin [7456 2651] advocated: "Turn over all work to the Guomindang." It meant recognizing and permitting the bourgeoisie's control of the party power of the Guomindang; letting the Guomindang take command of the revolutionary bourgeoisie was the same as letting the bourgeoisie take command of the Guomindang and the revolution.

2. May--December 1924

After the creation of the Guomindang-Communist cooperation, as Chen Duxiu and others admired the bourgeoisie and proposed the slogan "turn over all work to the Guomindang," our party gave no attention to exercising independent leadership; instead, it placed the worker movement entirely under the Guomindang banner. This rightwing tendency attracted the attention of the entire party. On 14 May 1924, the CCP Central Committee called an enlarged meeting in Shanghai and clarified three issues, i.e., cracking down on the rightwing and consolidating the leftwing; independent leadership of the worker movement; strengthening the building of the communist party. Thereafter, it pointed out in "the Significance of the Enlarged Executive Committee," published in CCP PARTY NEWS, No 3: "The labor movement, especially the modern industrial workers' movement, is our party's basic work. If we overlook this work in the national revolution, it will be equivalent to dissolving our party."¹¹

After the meeting, Chen Duxiu successively gave speeches and published articles to spread the spirit of the meeting. He appealed to the socialists that, "besides the national movement, special attention must be given to propagandizing to and organizing labor, in order to promote its revolutionary spirit and class consciousness and lay the foundation for a social revolution."¹² He also pointed out that "class cooperation" referred to "(1) cooperation among the classes, not mergence, because it is impossible for them to merge; (2) political cooperation in the national revolution, not economic cooperation by means of labor-capital compromise, because economically there is no common ground between labor and capital."¹³ When the Guomindang attacked the CCP under the pretext of the incident of the Socialist Youth League publication No 6, he wrote a counterattack: "The struggle between labor and capital is an inevitable revolutionary phenomenon in social progress, and the advocacy of labor-capital compromise is a policy to moderate the revolution."¹⁴ With the serious attention of the CCP Central Committee and Chen Duxiu, the worker movement again flourished. In July and September 1924, our party led the strikes of Guangzhou's Hexi and Shanghai's Nanyang Tobacco Plant. In the struggle in October to smash the coup of the Merchants' Volunteer Corps, especially, the workers of Guangzhou played a tremendous role. By the end of the year, the worker movement had emerged from the depression after the "7 February" tragedy and entered a new period of development. Under this very situation, Chen Duxiu realized: "The overall lesson we have learned in the two decades or more of the national movement is that, among the classes in society, only the ultimate class of mankind, viz., the proletariat, is the most uncompromising revolutionary class.... The national revolution of a state oppressed by capitalist-imperialism also needs it as the combat controller to supervise and urge all friendly forces which have a tendency to compromise--peasants, handicraftsmen, revolutionary intellectuals, vagrants, the poor (beggars and banditti) and small merchants--" to attack the counterrevolution, "before achieving the true goal of the national revolution, viz., national liberation."¹⁵ Nevertheless, between the worker class and the bourgeoisie, which was more powerful? Was the bourgeoisie included among the "friendly forces" "supervised and urged" by the worker class? Chen Duxiu failed to answer these questions clearly.

The independence of the CCP and the worker movement was extremely crucial; it was the prerequisite and foundation of the revolutionary leadership power. However, solving the issue of independence was not equivalent to solving the leadership issue, because the former was mainly an issue of the distinction of the CCP from the Guomindang. The manifestations of the independence of a political party in political struggles are manifold. Under the Guomindang-Communist cooperation, the supreme form of independence was the leadership power of the united front. Zhou Enlai said afterward: "Leadership power must be fought for by force, because someone is fighting for it against the proletariat, against the Communist Party In the united front, it is mainly the Guomindang and the Communist Party which are fighting for the leadership power."¹⁶ Yet in this period,

Chen Duxiu confined himself to criticisms of the Guomindang rightwing and limited his attention to the independence of the CCP and the worker movement, totally without any conscious intent of wresting the leadership power from the Guomindang.

3. January--December 1925

In January 1925, the CCP held its Fourth National Congress in Shanghai. Presiding over the congress, Chen Duxiu clearly proposed the leadership issue of the proletariat for the first time: "China's national revolutionary movement requires the vigorous participation of the most revolutionary proletariat and its leadership before the revolution can succeed."¹⁷ It was a leap in cognition on the part of the party's leading figures, including Chen Duxiu.

Not long after the congress, Chen Duxiu wrote an article, stating: The worker class "is the representative of the new productive force; it is rich in rallying and combat powers and a natural ally of the peasantry. Needless to say, the warlord class is the target of the revolution, and the bourgeoisie includes three kinds of elements, viz., 'counterrevolutionary,' 'nonrevolutionary' and 'inclined toward revolution.' Only the worker class is the most revolutionary. In terms of the class essence of mankind, the worker class is most richly endowed with the revolutionary character."¹⁸ Here, Chen Duxiu expounded the revolutionary character of the proletariat in comparing it with the bourgeoisie. It was an improvement over his previous high regard for the bourgeoisie and his comparison of the proletariat with the peasantry and the petit bourgeoisie. Chen Duxiu took part in and led the 30 May Movement, wrote a series of fighting articles and enthusiastically supported the powerful mass movement. Conversely, the 30 May Movement enabled him to realize that "China's workers and students are the bravest fighters in the national movement,"¹⁹ and that "the success of the national revolution of colonies and semi-colonies forms a direct proportion with the development and concentration of the forces of the worker and peasant classes."²⁰ Nevertheless, he still had not solved the issue of how the proletariat would gain the leadership power. He equated the proletarian leadership with the Guomindang leadership, mentioning the leadership power of the proletariat and the fact that the Guomindang should lead the national revolution in the same breath. He once said: "As a party out of office, the Communist Party only appeals to the people to support the Guomindang government on certain matters, or to supervise it on certain matters, but it does not directly undertake any political responsibility."²¹ Obviously, Chen Duxiu basically had no intention to fight for the leadership power inside the Guomindang.

Noticing the leftwing, middle and rightwing factions in the Guomindang, Chen Duxiu remained vague about their natures. He said that the Guomindang "leftwing represents the interest of the masses and the rightwing the interest of private individuals and bureaucrats."²² In fact, the Guomindang leftwing mainly represented the interest of the national

bourgeoisie. Failing to see this point clearly, he was bound to place the hopes for the democratic revolution on the leadership of the Guomindang leftwing.

4. January--November 1926

After the 30 May Movement, the labor movement expanded day by day and prepared to support the Northern Expedition. The Guangzhou government at that time was able to support the labor movement, because the latter, especially the general strikes of Guangdong and Hong Kong, benefited its coffers. Under this situation, Chen Duxiu praised the labor movement. Furthermore, when summarizing the experiences of the labor movement since the 30 May Movement, he pointed out: "There is a grave issue in the national revolutionary movement of the Shanghai inhabitants, viz., whether to let the revolutionary worker class lead the movement and proceed directly to revolution until the completion of the national liberation in the whole China, or to let the compromising large merchant class influence the people and gradually return to the previous 'foreign slave' Shanghai."²³ It indicates that Chen Duxiu had begun to sense the gravity of the struggle for the revolutionary leadership power between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Not long afterward, at the enlarged meeting of the CCP Central Committee over which he presided, he again stressed the necessity for the CCP to preserve its organizational independence. The policy on the Guomindang decided at the meeting was: "Expand the leftwing, closely associating with it and dealing with the middle faction together with it; openly oppose the rightwing."²⁴ The meeting pointed out unequivocally that, "since '30 May,' China's bourgeoisie has gradually become an important component of the national movement and it has the tendency to lead the movement," and that the proletariat "should vie with the bourgeoisie for the leadership position of the revolutionary movement to forestall compromises in the future." It also pointed out: "For China's worker and peasant classes to actually lead this revolution, the most crucial condition is that this party which represents the worker-peasant influence must become a party of the masses and have a good organization, in order to expand as much as possible the worker-peasant mass organizations and, together with the Guomindang leftwing, win the petit bourgeoisie and lead the revolution to the finish."²⁵ At that time, Chen Duxiu only noticed the new trend of the class struggle in society, but failed to see that the struggle was reflected ever more seriously in the contention between the Guomindang and the CCP. Under this grave situation, Chen Duxiu remained content with the position of the CCP as a "party out of office." In regard to the various factions of the Guomindang, though there was the policy of differential treatments, his analysis of Jiang Jieshi, who had shifted from the middle faction to the new rightwing, was wrong.

Precisely because of the absence of a correct strategy, Chen Duxiu failed to realize that, for the proletariat to gain leadership power, the key was in winning the leadership power in the Guomindang, the government and the army. Thus, in face of the attack launched by Jiang Jieshi's new rightwing, Chen Duxiu made three major concessions.

The first was political. At the Second Guomindang Congress in January 1926, instead of following the policy of attacking the rightwing, isolating the middle faction and expanding the leftwing, Chen Duxiu went all out to negotiate with the Xishan Meeting faction. Consequently, the result of the congressional election was "the expansion of the rightwing influence, the encouragement of the middle faction and the isolation of the leftwing."²⁶

The second was military. In the "SS Zhongshan incident" instigated by Jiang Jieshi against the CCP, the siege of the Soviet consulate, the surveillance of Soviet advisers, the arrest of CCP members in the First Army and the disarming of the pickets of the striking workers in Guangdong and Hong Kong, Chen Duxiu persistently took a concessionary attitude, thereby consolidating and elevating Jiang Jieshi's position in military affairs.

The third was on party affairs. At the Second Plenary Session of the Second Guomindang Central Committee, the "Plan to Rectify Party Affairs" proposed by Jiang Jieshi which completely excluded the CCP was actually passed with the support of Bao Luoting [7637 5012 1694], Chen Duxiu and Zhang Guotao [1728 0948 3614], giving the rightwing an enormous organizational superiority and depriving us of any standing in party affairs.

After the start of the Northern Expedition, Chen Duxiu and others took a wait-and-see attitude and had no definite policy on the ever more powerful Jiang Jieshi. Thus, Jiang Jieshi usurped the achievements of the Northern Expedition.

Chen Duxiu's "theory of two revolutions" which had its inception when he drafted the declaration of the party's "Second Congress developed further in this period. He said that, after the victory of the democratic revolution, "China's capitalists will naturally develop, and only then will its capitalism develop freely." Only after this developmental period of capitalism would China enter "the age of the proletarian revolution." Therefore, in the period of the democratic revolution, the CCP would not struggle with the Guomindang for political power." "As for the struggle of the CCP with the Guomindang leftwing for political power after the victory of the national revolution, it will not happen either." Obviously, starting from the "theory of 2 revolutions," Chen Duxiu would not advocate leadership power for the proletariat.

5. December 1926--July 1927

Going from victory to victory, the Northern Expedition completely wiped out Wu Peifu [0702 0160 1318], the arrogant Hebei faction warlord, by the end of 1926. The achievement was made with the help of the worker-peasant masses, while the victory of the Northern Expedition promoted the development of the worker-peasant mass movement. In all areas in the nation, especially Hunan, Hubei and Jiangxi, the movement flourished. Nevertheless, the reactionary tendency of Jiang Jieshi's new rightwing also grew stronger day by day at the same time.

Under this new situation, the CCP Central Committee called a special meeting in Hankou. Chaired by Chen Duxiu, the meeting not only failed to propose a countermeasure against Jiang Jieshi's reactionary tendency, but, on the contrary, emphatically opposed the "leftwing tendency" in the party and stressed the necessity to restrict the peasant movement. One must admit that in certain areas and certain aspects at that time, the worker-peasant movement indeed had a leftwing tendency. However, Chen Duxiu regarded this secondary tendency as the main one. His opposition to the leftwing tendency was not for the purpose of expanding and developing the worker-peasant movement or of waging a more effective struggle against the rightwing, but for the purpose of winning the leftward shift of the rightwing influence, in order to shore up the precarious Guomindang-Communist cooperation, thereby basically relinquishing the revolutionary leadership power of the proletariat.

In March 1927, when Jiang Jieshi dallied with Japanese imperialism, Chen Duxiu still referred to him as "the leader of the Red Army." Though voicing some criticisms of Jiang Jieshi, he "sincerely demands that Commander-in-Chief Jiang Jieshi, leader of the national revolutionary army, immediately, by words and deeds, prove that the so-called North-South compromise to resist communism together is indeed the plot of Japanese imperialism to create rumors, foment discord and spread slanders for the purpose of sabotaging China's revolution."²⁷ Chen Duxiu still entertained a great illusion of Jiang Jieshi.

In April, when Jiang Jieshi already picked up the butcher's knife and swept from Ganzhou, Nanchang and Jiujiang to Nanjing and Shanghai, Chen Duxiu and Wang Jingwei concocted a "joint declaration" that the report that "the Guomindang leaders will drive out the communists and suppress the labor unions and pickets" was a "rumor." They did everything to whitewash Jiang Jieshi: "Shanghai's military authorities have expressed their allegiance to the central government. Even if there should be some complaints and misunderstandings, they are not necessarily unexplainable." Such arguments produced the effect of hoodwinking and lulling the broad CCP members and worker-peasant masses.

Jiang Jieshi's "12 April" counterrevolutionary coup smashed Chen Duxiu's illusion. To counter the difficulties brought to the revolution by Jiang's revolt, Chen Duxiu shifted his hopes to Wang Jingwei. Courting Wang Jingwei, he was willing to abandon the basic interest of the workers and peasants and withdraw the CCP members from within the Guomindang and the Wuhan government.

At the time of the Xia Douyin [1115 2435 1377] revolt, the Wuhan government offered 1,500 rifles to Wuhan's worker pickets, but Chen Duxiu turned it down, to show that he had no "plot" and to demonstrate his "loyalty to the Wuhan government."

On 4 June, as the secretary general of the CCP, Chen Duxiu wrote a letter to the Guomindang, hoping for its leadership and the completion of the

land revolution and saying that "the future of China's revolution and the fate of the Chinese people entirely depend on the firm action of your party at this time."

On 30 June, the enlarged meeting of the Party Central Committee chaired by Chen Duxiu formulated the so-called "11 Articles of Guomindang-Communist Cooperation," acknowledging that the Guomindang "naturally occupies the leadership position in the national revolution" and declaring that participation of the CCP members in the government "does not signify a coalition regime," and that, "to minimize frictions in the political situation," they would withdraw from the government by "taking leaves of absence." There were even such statements as: "The worker-peasant mass organizations are all subject to the leadership and supervision of the Guomindang;" the worker-peasant armed forces "should all obey the control and training by the government."

If it is said that, prior to 1927, Chen Duxiu was still able to pay serious attention to the worker-peasant movement, then, after 1927, he sought to compromise with the reactionary Guomindang forces by betraying it.

During the period of the first domestic revolutionary war, our party acquired a part of the leadership power in the democratic revolution, and the worker-peasant movement, especially, was basically deployed under our party's leadership. It was a great victory of our party in its infancy. Nevertheless, due to the great disparity in strengths between the enemy and us, and subjectively due to Chen Duxiu's rightwing capitulationism, the partial leadership power gained by our party was lost, and the powerful great revolution failed.

III. The first Guomindang-Communist cooperation produced a crucial impact on the revolutionary history of modern China. The Chinese communists gained experience in their sincere cooperation with the patriotic and democratic Guomindang members; they also gained experience in the struggle against the reactionaries who disrupted the cooperation. It was most helpful to the consolidation and development of the united front in the future led by our party. Here, the one issue calling for exploration is: Why was Chen Duxiu unable to preserve the independence of the proletariat and gain the proper leadership power, and why did he follow the opposite path, losing the independence and relinquishing the leadership power? From the above observations, what kind of conclusion can we reach?

1. On leadership power, we cannot say that Chen Duxiu never stressed the organizational independence of the CCP and the role of the worker class, or that he never criticized the Guomindang. The issue was that, under the situation of Guomindang-Communist cooperation, short of basing ourselves on the foundation of struggling with the Guomindang for party, military and political powers, independence had no guarantee and the proletariat could not achieve leadership power. Chen Duxiu confined

himself to general expositions of the independence of the CCP. On independence and leadership power, the two issues which were linked yet distinguishable, he equated them at times and severed them at other times. Around the time of the Guomindang-Communist cooperation, he proceeded from the "theory of one revolution" (directly launching the proletarian revolution) to the "theory of two revolutions." All these could not truly solve the leadership issue, but would either make the leadership power come to nought from the "leftwing" aspect or turn into an appendage of the bourgeoisie. Chen Duxiu became such an appendage. His process from vacillation to compromise and finally capitulation was the inevitable outcome of the influence produced by the social democratic trend in China.

2. Uncertain and confused on many issues, Chen Duxiu held totally different views in the same month or within a matter of days. On 18 April 1923, for instance, he vociferously declared that the worker class had "the greatest fighting spirit" and was "already the bravest radical vanguard" (see his article "How to Overthrow the Warlords"), but a week later he found the role of the worker class negligible. He excluded the bourgeoisie from the revolutionary forces at times and admired it at other times. While claiming that the Guomindang was the political party of the bourgeoisie, he declared that China's bourgeois political party had not emerged. He said that the proletariat must lead, but he also said that the Guomindang should lead, while the CCP was only the party out of office, and that all work should be turned over to the Guomindang. Noticing the leftwing, middle and rightwing factions in the Guomindang, he also criticized the rightwing, but compromised with it step by step and finally capitulated to it. Thus it went on and on. One decisive factor for his vacillation and confusion was his failure to integrate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of China's revolution; therefore, he failed to solve the theoretical and policy issues of China's revolution. Steadfastness and thoroughness in theory and accuracy in lines and policies, never vacillating left and right, can only be achieved by integrating the Marxist-Leninist universal truths with China's revolutionary practice. It is one of the most important historical experiences of our party, an experience paid with blood. Naturally, we cannot ask the leader of an infant party to properly integrate the two all at once, as it involved a repetitious and prolonged process, but the problem was that Chen Duxiu failed to progress in this direction; he took the opposite direction.

3. On the question of how to assess Chen Duxiu's mistakes in the leadership issue, we have already discussed in "the Issue of the Revolutionary Leadership Power in the First Domestic Revolutionary War" (ZHONGGUO SHEHUI KEXUE [CHINA SOCIAL SCIENCE], No 4, 1980). Here we will only discuss some opinions on the method of study. Same as the thinking of all historical figures, Chen Duxiu underwent a historical developmental process on the issue of leadership power. Therefore, we must examine the changes and developments and link them with the historical conditions at the time before we can see the main tendency as well as the complexity and recognize

the essence and principal current. Lenin said: "If we master the facts from their sum total and their connections, then, facts are not just 'something which speaks louder than words,' but irrefutable; if we fail to master the facts from their sum total and their connections, but pick them in random fragments, then, they can only be a sort of child's play, or even not as good."²⁸ Seizing upon a certain incident in isolation or a certain article written by him, or even a certain sentence in an article, will not lead to a correct judgment of Chen Duxiu. To say flatly that Chen Duxiu was a capitulationist, or that he was a capitulationist to begin with, will not be convincing.

FOOTNOTES

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3. XIN QINGNIAN, Vol 9, No 6
4. "On Building the Nation," XIANGDAO [GUIDE] Weekly, No 2, 20 September 1922
5. "Criticism of Socialism," XIN QINGNIAN, Vol 9, No 3, 1 July 1921
6. "China's National Revolution and the Classes in Society," QIANFENG [VANGUARD] Monthly, No 2, December 1923
7. Chen Duxiu, "How to Overthrow the Warlords," XIANGDAO Weekly, No 21, 18 April 1923
8. Chen Duxiu, "Beijing's Coup and the Guomindang," XIANGDAO Weekly, Combined Nos 31 and 32, 1 July 1923
9. Chen Duxiu, "On Building the Nation," op. cit.
10. Chen Duxiu, "the Bourgeois Revolution and the Revolutionary Bourgeoisie," XIANGDAO Weekly, No 22, 25 April 1923
11. See "Selections of the Political Reports of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee" (1922-1926), March 1981 edition
12. "Chen Duxiu's Speeches on Socialism" (May 1924), "Prior to the Sixth Congress"
13. Chen Duxiu, "the Guomindang and the Labor Movement," XIANGDAO, No 71, 18 June 1924

14. Chen Duxiu, "Our Reply," op. cit., No 82, 17 September 1924
15. Chen Duxiu, "Lessons Learned in the National Movement of the Past 27 Years," XIN QINGNIAN Quarterly, No 4, 20 December 1924
16. "On the United Front," "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai"
17. "Resolution of the Fourth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party on the National Revolutionary Movement"
18. Chen Duxiu, "the Strength of the Workers in China's National Revolutionary Movement," XIANGDAO Weekly, No 101, 7 February 1925
19. Chen Duxiu, "Shanghai's Great Massacre and China's National Freedom Movement," op. cit., No 117, 6 June 1925
20. Chen Duxiu, "a Letter to Dai Jitao [2071 1323 7118]," "Prior to the Sixth Congress"
21. Chen Duxiu, "the Significance of the Guangzhou Battle," XIANGDAO Weekly, No 121, 11 July 1925
22. Chen Duxiu, "the Revolutionary Shanghai," op. cit., No 160, 30 June 1926
23. Ibid.
- 24, 25. "Resolution of the Third Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee," "Prior to the Sixth Congress"
26. Zhou Enlai, "on the Relations of the Chinese Communist Party with the Guomindang from 1924 to 1926," "Selected Works"
27. Chen Duxiu, "on Jiang Jieshi's Speech of 7 March," XIANGDAO Weekly, No 192, 18 March 1927
28. Lenin, "Statistics and Sociology," "Complete Works," Vol 23, p 279

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CSO: 4005/1190

PARTY AND STATE

ZHANG XUN'S QING DYNASTY RESTORATION DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Min Go [7096 2047]: "Zhang Xun's Restoration"]

[Text] The development of history often travels a zigzag path. The 1911 revolution overthrew the rule of the Qing monarchy and established a Republic and thereby brought to a close more than 2,000 years of the feudal monarchical autocratic system. But the old forces did not acquiesce in their defeat. In the early years of the Republic, in the wake of the failure of Yuan Shikai's "Hongxian monarchy" there occurred on 1 July 1917 again a restoration of the Qing Court. Because this restoration was instigated single handedly by the feudal warlord Zhang Xun, it was generally known as Zhang Xun's Restoration.

Zhang Xun (1854-1923) was originally the Qing Dynasty's regional commander-in-chief for Anhui and Jiangsu south of the Changjiang in charge of the river-defense Military Post stationed in Nanjing. After the outbreak of the 1911 revolution, the revolutionary troops attacked Nanjing and Zhang Xun put up a stubborn resistance in his backed-up corner. Upon his defeat, he led more than 2,000 troops to retreat northward and set up his defense command in the Xuzhou-Gunzhou region to continue to confront the revolutionary troops. Upon the establishment of the Republic, he stubbornly kept his queue to indicate that he was still loyal to the Qing Court. This baseful attitude of wishing closed mindedly to serve as the Qing Court's running dog on his part incurred the loath of the vast ranks of the people. People called this odd-looking warlord "the general with a queue," and his troops were also called "queued soldiers." In 1913, because he had earned some "merit" in helping suppress "the second revolution" launched by Sun Zhongshan, he was promoted by Yuan Shikai to become the inspector general for the Changjiang Region, and his "queued soldiers" too were increased to 20,000 men. From then on, he took over command in Xuzhou and became a supercilious local warlord.

In 1916, head of the warlords of the northern sea, Yuan Shikai, assumed the title of an emperor but was defeated and died of anxiety and fear. When Li Yuanhong acceded to the presidency, real power was held in the hands of Premier Duan Qirui. Contradictions between the warlords of the northern sea and the Kuomintang partisans and the local forces of the southwest multiplied; the political situation became very chaotic. Zhang Xun thought that this

must be the best time to restore the rule of the Qing monarchy and he therefore convened the Xuzhou Conference under the pretext of uniting together the warlords of the northern sea and the local forces of the southwest, to counter the Kuomintang. At that conference, he glibly talked about how the Qing Court was "profoundly gracious and benevolent," and therefore demanded "honoring various conditions on giving preferential treatment to the royal family of the former Qing Dynasty." He also proposed that all warlords of the northern sea "consult one another on everything," "assuredly adopt a uniform posture," and therefore openly organized an offensive/defensive alliance of the warlords. At this time, Duan Qirui was intent on making use of the Xuzhou Conference in order to consolidate his ruling position; through his covert machination, the ranks of the warlords of 7 provinces who attended the Xuzhou Conference quickly expanded to include 13 provinces and regions. They also proceeded to organize the so-called "Association of 13 Provinces and Regions," formulate a charter, and uphold Zhang Xun as their overlord. During this period, warlords who joined the association led by Zhang Xun issued a series of circulars which viciously attacked the National Assembly; their blustering posture was most arrogant.

Soon thereafter, contradictions between Li Yuanhong and Duan Qirui exploded in the so-called "war participation" (i.e., participation in World War I) question. Duan advocated declaration of war against Germany; Li and the National Assembly firmly opposed this; the two sides faced each other like water and fire. Because of Germany's covert support for his intent on restoration, Zhang Xun opposed declaration of war against Germany; but he also despised the National Assembly and Li Yuanhong. As a result, both Li and Duan competed to rope in Zhang Xun as their supporter. But Zhang Xun had his own plans. He pretended to be a mediator between Li and Duan and tried to utilize their contradictions and thereby harvest the fisherman's prey as he waited for the chance to control the central government. Meanwhile, with his status as the overlord of 13 provinces and regions he connived with the German and Japanese imperialists and struck up connections in all directions. He also recruited remnant seniors and juniors of the former Qing Dynasty lying low in various localities, offspring of the "Hongxian Monarchy," as well as the old loyalists to piece together a substantial force and thereby actively make preparations for restoration.

In late May 1917, when Li and Duan reached a stalemate over the question of dissolving the National Assembly, Duan Qirui, through his confidant Xu Shuzeng, instigated the governors general of various provinces to converge on Xuzhou with a view to urging Zhang Xun himself to take the lead to overthrow Li Yuanhong and dissolve the National Assembly. Upon receiving such information, Li Yuanhong first gave the order to dismiss Duan Qirui from his premiership. When this message reached Xuzhou, the governors general raised an uproar and immediately proceeded to discuss a counterpolicy. Taking advantage of this opportunity Zhang Xun advanced the proposal of "indispensable restoration" and "the governors general on the surface also indicated their consent." After the meeting, the governors general, according to their premeditated steps, took turns to declare their independence and refused to recognize the central government. Li Yuanhong was forced to call Zhang Xun into the capital to mediate. Thus Zhang Xun leading 3,000 of his "queued soldiers" proceeded northward from Xuzhou on 7 June; on the next day he

reached Tianjin. When he met with Duan Qirui, who had just stepped down from office, he immediately put forward his conditions for "mediation" and pressured Li Yuanhong to dissolve the National Assembly. Li was forced to issue a decree to dissolve the National Assembly; Zhang Xun arrived in Beijing on the 14th.

In order to hoodwink the people, Zhang Xun indicated after his entry into the capital his readiness to support Li Jingxi to organize a responsible cabinet; he also sent circulars to the various provinces to have them repeal their respective independence. The situation nominally quieted down, but covertly Zhang Xun directed his confidant Wan Shengshi to send secret circulars to the restorationist elements in various localities and ask them to hasten to the capital. The restorationist elements in these localities were elated with frenzy and immediately they all proceeded to Beijing. Among them was Kang Youwei, who had degenerated into a restorationist. He held that a republic was not suitable to China's national conditions, and unless the course of action was changed there would be no way to "achieve salvation." He also wantonly alleged that, once Xuantong was restored on the throne, "the country could be put back to sure safety within a week." After a round of intense plotting, Zhang Xun brought with him his cronies who secretly entered the Qing Palace on the evening of 30 June and held a so-called "deliberations before the emperor"; they immediately decided to launch the restoration that very evening. In the depth of the night, the queued soldiers occupied the train station, the post office, and other similar important places. In the meantime, they sent delegates to urge Li Yuanhong to "return sovereign rule [to the Qing Court]; but the proposition was rejected by Li. In the early morning of 1 July, Zhang Xun changed into a court outfit of the Qing period and led all those clowns to the Qing Palace to implore the 12-year old Puyi to "ascend the throne" and accept their homage, as they hailed "May you live 10,000 years"! Thus the restoration comedy was under way.

Under the direction of Zhang Xun, eight "edicts" were issued on the same day, changing 1 July of the 6th year of the Republic into "13 May of the 9th year of Xuantong," replacing the five-color national flag with a dragon flag, thus restoring the old system prevailing at the end of the Qing. At the center were installed grand councillors and a cabinet; governors general of the provinces were now changed to inspectors general or viceroys. Zhang Xun conferred upon himself the office of a grand councillor while serving concurrently as viceroy of Zhili and superintendent of the Northern Sea, thus concentrating both military and administrative powers in himself. Sending circulars to the provinces, he drivelled that "All our brethren are old subjects of the former dynasty and heavily indebted to it; even today's soldiers and civilians still feed themselves on this land and for generations owe their livelihood and growth to it. Upon receiving this circular, you should immediately follow the new calendar and hoist up the dragon flag."

The restorationist forces over-estimated their strength; they failed to perceive Duan Qirui's political plot to use them as his tools so that he could continue to control the central government. They thought that since restoration was planned at the Xuzhou Conference, once it got started various places would immediately respond. However, their reactionary fantasies were soon destroyed. As soon as news about the restoration began to spread, vehement

opposition by the people of various strata was aroused at once. The masses all flocked to hold meetings, and public opinions invariably aired condemnation, all designating Zhang Xun and his ilk as "renegades," "clowns." Sun Zhongshan issued a declaration for expedition against the renegades to point out that an expedition against Zhang Xun was not only "a struggle for the Republic's existence, but also the nation's battle against military force." He at the same time ordered revolutionary party members of various provinces to "send troops to punish the renegades." The industrial and commercial circles in Shanghai all hung the Republican flag for 3 days; the various circles in Canton convened a citizens' "rear service association for national defense" in order to evince their determination to oppose restoration. Li Yuanhong fled to the Japanese Embassy for shelter and firmly declined to mix company with the restorationist elements. Making use of the momentum of the people of the whole country in opposing restoration, Duan Qirui immediately started his maneuvers everywhere; with the support of the Japanese imperialists he succeeded in organizing an "expeditionary army against the renegades: and convened an oath-taking rally at Machang in the outskirts of Tianjin on 3 July. In the Beijing-Tianjin region those contingents joining this "expeditionary army against the renegades" numbered more than 50,000 men. They pushed simultaneously northward along the Beijing-Tianjin Railway and the Beijing-Hankou Railway in the east and in the west. The queued troops defending Langfang collapsed upon their very first encounter; seeing that the situation did not augur very well, the restorationists hurriedly fled Beijing for their lives. Knowing that the game was as good as lost, Zhang Xun could no longer come up with any countermeasures; he was compelled to resign from all his fraudulent offices and beg the corps of foreign envoys in Beijing to come forward to "mediate." Duan Qirui proposed the disarming of the queued troops and preserving Zhang Xun's life and properties. But Zhang Xun insisted on leading his troops back to his old nest in Xuzhou in an attempt to preserve his forces intact so that he could still remain a local warlord. After negotiations between the two sides broke down, the "expeditionary army against the renegades" launched its overall attack on the 12th; the queued troops defending Beijing either laid down their arms and surrendered or simply dissipated. Under the protection of two Germans Zhang Xun fled to the Holland legation in a hurry. After only 12 days, the farce of the restoration thus folded in the midst of curses by thousands. Duan Qirui reentered Beijing on the 14th and resumed control over the government. Looking upon himself as the benefactor who had brought about the "regeneration of the Republic," he insolently refused to reinstate the "temporary covenant" and the National Assembly, and continued to carry out his warlordly arbitrary rule.

In the history of the Republic, there appeared more than once clowns who vainly attempted to steer history backward. Because they violated the people's will, they all ended up in defeat and disrepute. The shortlived restoration by Zhang Xun once again testified to this logic of historical development.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NAVAL EXERCISE ON HIGH SEA DESCRIBED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Lu Qiming [7120 0366 2494] and Li Xueyin [2521 1331 1377]:
"Test On the High Sea"]

[Text] The boundless high sea of our motherland is the cradle of the people's navy where it has grown up and become increasingly powerful. The high sea of our country is also a testing ground where the sailors demonstrate their fighting power.

On the constantly changing stormy high seas a large scale two-sided military exercise of landing operations and counter-attack was carried out: A composite formation of the "Red" composed of scores of naval vessels, under the support of the naval air units, swiftly moved to the formation of naval vessels of the "Blue" unit which was about to "invade" a certain island.

With the two opposing sides confronting each other, the decisive factor rested on the commanding officers. At the time when the commanding officer on the flagship of the "Red" unit, who is in the prime of life, was about to issue orders to attack, there was a sudden change in the formation of the "tricky" "Blue" unit. When the "enemy" shifts its position we must also make changes! The commander of the "Red" unit calmly issued new orders one after another to resort to the tactics of starting a feigned attack to lure the "enemy." Various arms with different combat missions charged the "Blue" unit wave after wave. Airborne forces reinforced them in time from the sky.... They totally "annihilated" the "Blue" unit which had intended to make a forced landing at the beachhead.

The name of the commander of the "Red" unit is Zhang Yusan [1728 0056 0005] who has been one of the first generation sailors of the people's navy. In May last year, he came to the coastal front to assume the post of the commander of a composite armada and started to learn once again the tactics and techniques of various service arms. In a short period of only one year, he has become familiar with the different types of naval vessels of the armada and the fighting capabilities of the naval air units, and thereby becoming a commander who can skillfully direct the operation of a composite armada with sophisticated equipment.

People often say that in order to command a modern warship on the high sea, one must not only have the courage and resourcefulness of a strategist, but he must also be as scientifically minded as an engineer. Yang Zhangkui [2799 2222 1145], dadui commander of a certain guided missile escort vessel unit was in the past an "uneducated person" who was not even able to write letters to his own family members. But now he can master the techniques of launching guided missiles from the sea. He directed naval vessels to practice shooting on the rough high sea. As soon as the naval vessels entered into the course of combat, a ship-to-ship missile took off with a gush of heavy smoke and blazing flames and "boom," hit the target accurately.

In a sense, a modern warfare is a war of electronics. The boundless high sea is a vast battle ground to engage in electronic wartime. A certain fast attack craft unit has specifically set up a research group to explore the new tactics of electronic warfare. By pooling their wisdom and strength together, a new type of guiding operations has been put forward, a new means for operating radar in a concealed position has been put forward, a new means for operating radar in the concealed position has been tempered, and a new method for jamming electronic waves has been found. In a "fierce fight" on the sea, this FAC unit, by applying the successful result of research, defeated the formation of an "invader" equipped with advanced electronic instruments and seized the initiative at the testing ground on the high seas.

A long distance deep sea navigation is a rigorous test of the commanding skill of a submariner captain. The young captain Zhang Leiyu [1728 4320 1946], who has only recently been promoted, has commanded three long voyages and every time he has successfully accomplished his mission. Once there was a navigation plan in front of him which called for a longer voyage and was more difficult to accomplish. There are four water lanes on this sea route which are both narrow and dangerous. At that time, "enemy activities" of one kind or another were reported on islands winding through both sides of the course. As typhoon wreaked havoc and turbid waves leaped skywards, the submarine sailed like an untamed wild horse. Zhang Leiyu was in command with perfect ease and ingeniously utilized the bad weather as a cover to carry out reconnaissance drills under the "enemy's very noses." He sailed thousands of miles and won a new "certificate of quality" in the test on the high sea.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA GENERAL LOGISTICS DEPARTMENT TRAINS TECHNICAL CADRES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Zhou Songnai [0719 2646 5082] and Wang Zongren [3769 1350 0088]: "PLA General Logistics Department Trains and Employs Middle-Aged Scientific and Technical Cadres"]

[Text] The PLO General Logistics Department party committees at all levels have been paying attention to the work of training and employing middle-aged scientific and technical cadres in recent years. A scientific and technical contingent full of vigor and vitality which is provided with various branches of learning has, step by step, been set up and the work of scientific research has been thoroughly carried out and more than 1,000 scientific research projects have been successfully accomplished.

Party committees at each unit of the PLA General Logistics Department, while making earnest efforts to redress the unjust, false and wrong charges and to solve the question of approving party membership applications, have adopted three practical steps:

1. To actively train them, to constantly heighten their level of professional theory and to improve their ability of engaging in actual technical work, night schools and different types of shortterm training classes have been established extensively, academic forums and public lectures on different subjects have been convened. Foreign experts and professors were invited to give lectures in China. Particular attention has been paid to educating elder experts and renowned professors to take up the work of training middle-aged and young scientific and technical cadres as their unshirkable responsibility and to willingly let the cadres surpass themselves.
2. We must boldly promote competent and politically sound middle-aged scientific and technical cadres and appoint them to leading posts. The posts of more than 400 directors and deputy directors of various divisions and offices of all PLA medical colleges, general hospitals and a scientific research base, with the exception of a few independent cases, are not occupied by well-trained middle-aged scientific and technical cadres as well as some professors and associate professors. Over the past five years, the PLA Academy of Military Medical Science has promoted a total of 48

scientific and technical leading cadres to posts at the above departmental level and 40 of them happened to be middle-aged scientific and technical personnel. Since these comrades have been appointed to leading posts, party committees at all levels dared to let them shoulder heavy responsibilities by earnestly conferring posts, rights and duties upon them so that they may really play their role as "pillars" in scientific and technical work.

3. We must give a free hand in their work to let middle-aged scientific and technical cadres take up the responsibilities in important scientific research projects. In recent years, most of the successes in more than 1,000 scientific research projects of the PLA General Logistics Department were the results of the hard work of middle-aged scientific and technical cadres.

Party committees at all levels in the PLA General Logistics Department also have attached great importance to solving the actual difficulties encountered by middle-aged intellectuals. In recent years, the PLA General Logistics Department built more than 540,000 square meters of new living quarters for teaching, scientific research and medical units to use in order to solve the problem of inadequacy of housing for scientific and technical cadres. At present, the question of family reunion of scientific and technical cadres. At present, the question of family reunion of scientific and technical cadres at and above the level of lecturers, military surgeons-in-charge and engineers has basically been resolved. In addition, all units have arranged to provide motor vehicles and to improve the quality of food for scientific and technical cadres. In order to let scientific and technical cadres concentrate on scientific research work, most of the units have released them from physical labor in farming and sideline production. Noncombatant duties also have been reduced to the minimum.

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CSO: 4005/1134

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPLEMENTATION OF POPULATION POLICY STRESSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jul 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Unswervingly Carry Out the Party's Population Policy"]

[Text] Today, this newspaper publishes in summary form the views of the provincial party committee and provincial government on implementing the joint CCP Central Committee-State Council "Directive on Further Doing a Good Job in Our Birth Control Work"; this document fully embodies the spirit of the joint Party Central Committee-State Council directive and concentratedly summarizes the good approaches and experiences of our province in developing our birth control work; it is bound to play a powerful promotion role in unifying the policy thinking of the province's leading cadres at various levels, heightening the consciousness of the cadres and masses in doing a good job in our birth control work, and promoting the deepening development of the province's birth control work.

Rigorously enforcing birth control and controlling our population increase is an important strategic question encountered by our socialist modernization. It directly concerns the success or failure of the cause of our four modernizations and the happiness of our posterity; it is a very important and urgent big matter. And unswervingly implementing the party's population policy is in turn the reliable guarantee for the triumphant accomplishment of this important historical task. What is the party's population policy? It is no other than limiting our population increase and improving our population quality, and its basic demand is: promoting late marriage, late procreation, fewer births, and superior births. Concerning these demands the party Central Committee and State Council have provided clear regulations; this time the provincial party committee and provincial government have again provided certain concrete, supplementary regulations. All these regulations are formulated by proceeding from the realities of our nation and our province, and they are also proved in practice to be correct and feasible; they have pointed out the direction for us to do a good job in our birth control work and provided us with norms that can be followed. Party organizations and government departments at various levels should all propagate them energetically, seriously adhere to them, and resolutely implement them. We must make the spirit of this document known to every household and even every woman and child, so that it can penetrate people's minds.

Correctly understanding policy is the premise for resolutely implementing policy. With regard to the same policy prescription, because the angles from which people view problems are different, their understandings are also different, and it is often likely for them to derive different conclusions. For instance, some have understood that caring for the practical difficulties of certain masses of the peasants is a case of the party's policy becoming lax and relaxed, thus making it possible to increase to two births per household. This is purely a misunderstanding. In reality, the policy prescriptions of the party Central Committee and State Council are very clear; in order for a household to have a second birth, there must not only be "special circumstances" and "practical difficulties," but it must also be "approved" and "arranged according to plan." This prescription not only demonstrates the spirit of the necessity of grasping our birth control work closely but also predicates our policy on the basis of its acceptability by the majority of the masses; it is neither lax, relaxed, nor does it reduce our birth control requirement. Again, for instance, after our new marriage law was promulgated, some people stressed only the aspect of people being permitted to get married by their legal age, while ignoring the other aspect that our population's base figure is already very big so we should promote later marriage. This is also a manifestation of partial understanding. Situations similar to this tell us that only by seriously studying the party's relevant policies and really understanding the spirit of the party's policies can we continue to clarify this or that kind of muddled concepts, partial understandings, and thereby ensure resolute implementation of our population policy.

In implementing resolutely the party's population policy, we must adhere to the principle of relying mainly on ideological education and supplementing it with necessary economic restrictions and punishments. Our birth control work is extensive in coverage and heavy in quantity; it touches hundreds and thousands of households and is a profound revolution. It is bound to run into many ideological problems and practical problems. Because the feudal ideas of several thousand years' standing about "regarding men as superior to women" and "the more sons, the greater happiness" still have a considerable market and, in addition, after the responsibility agricultural production system was put into practice, many peasants became even "more eager to have sons," the formidable nature of this work has become exacerbated. This has come to require us to energetically reinforce our work in ideological education, to make it more penetrating, more meticulous, more solid, and more fruitful so as to really turn the implementation of our birth control into the conscious action of the masses. We cannot relax or weaken our ideological and educational work just because we think that the central government and the province have already clearly prescribed economic restrictions and punishing methods, or even replace our ideological and educational work with them; that would not only be erroneous in terms of our guiding ideology but also would affect the smooth deployment of our birth control. Facts prove that putting emphasis on punishments and taking education lightly would not only fail to restrict any second birth or prevent multiple births but also create the feeling of confrontation which should not prevail between the party and the masses or between

the cadres and the masses. We should know that punishment is a means and not an end; the end is to enlighten the consciousness of more people on the sideline through the punishment of an extreme minority. And only when restrictions and punishments are employed as supplements to basic undertaking of penetrating, meticulous ideological work can such restrictions and punishments be effective and persuasive and reap the positive effect of "punishing 1 household, educating 10,000 households" and achieve good results.

In carrying out resolutely the party's population policy, we must be good at linking our established policies and principles to the actual situations of our own district and unit. In the case of larger matters, they must be unified under the policy prescriptions of the party Central Committee and State Council and the supplementary regulations of the provincial party committee and provincial government; as for the temporary regulations formulated by various regions, municipalities and counties in the past, whichever are in accord with the spirit of the Central Committee and the provincial committee should continually be implemented, otherwise the Central Committee and provincial documents must be followed. In the concrete process of implementation, we must seek truth from facts and insist on proceeding from reality and refrain from handling everything in the same rigid manner. For instance, various localities may base themselves on relevant Central Committee and provincial regulations, keep in line with their own respective local realities, and thereby formulate their own detailed guidelines for implementation; certain "village rules and folksy conventions" that have played a wholesome role in our control of population increase may also be implemented continually.

Since the 1970's, birth control work in our province has achieved conspicuous results. Today, on the basis of the spirit of the directive issued by the party Central Committee and State Council the provincial party committee and provincial government have once again done this work well and provided us with new supplementary regulations. So long as we unswervingly implement the party's population policy and penetratingly and carefully do our ideological and political work well, the birth control work in our province is bound to achieve even greater results.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

REESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Fei Xiaotong [6316 1321 6639]: "Some Suggestions on the Reestablishment of the Science of Sociology in our Country"]

[Text] It has been more than 3 years since sociology was restored in our country. But restoring the status of this subject of sociology among China's social sciences is not the same as restoring the subject's old content. Insofar as this subject's content is concerned, it remains to be built by us energetically in order to turn it into a sociology guided by Marxism, closely united with reality, and in the service of our socialist construction. This is essentially different from the sociology in the China of the old era and from the sociology of countries of the West.

In saying that as a science China's sociology has already paused for nearly 30 years, we do not mean that the work of our country in attempting to seek a scientific understanding of the Chinese society has been interrupted for such a long period. On the contrary, a genuinely scientific understanding of the Chinese society began only with the social surveys undertaken under the leadership of the CCP. Social surveys uniting theory with reality have always been a fine party tradition, and Comrade Mao Zedong personally the example of this. This has been the most precious foundation of our sociology. In the long processes of revolution and construction, large contingents of theoretical workers and practical working cadres have been trained and fostered in our country. Such contingents of forces with both theory and practical experience are the mainstay and core on whom the development of our sociology depends in the years ahead.

We must also seriously study the sociology of the West and the sociology of old China; we must study not only the vast amount of knowledge they have accumulated but also the methodology they employ. This by no means prevents us from carrying out a Marxist type of criticism after deliberation and consideration upon the completion of our study. Today's problem is that we do not know, or do not know enough. Only by serious study can we analytically and critically absorb things that are useful to us. We have several thousand years of fine civilization which includes rich sociological thinking and which awaits our critical inheritance from the Marxist point of view. In a word, we must use Marxism as our guide and, on the basis of the party's

fine tradition, implement the double-hundred principle, make the past serve the present and make things foreign serve China; for the purpose of reestablishing our sociology, we must endeavor to utilize all utilizable conditions.

The reason we must reestablish this science is because of the needs of the development of our present social economy. In order to implement socialist modernization in a planned way and achieve a systematic, scientific understanding of the actual conditions of our social economy, we have at various points established many disciplines of social science; each discipline has undertaken tasks of research according to its own particular realm of specialty. But in respect to certain social phenomena and social problems relating to the national economy and people's livelihood, especially certain questions of a comprehensive nature, the corresponding disciplines are still lacking for such research undertakings. And sociology is precisely one science which is rather comprehensive, as it takes society as a whole and comprehensively studies various aspects of the relationship between social phenomena and their development and change.

Since our sociology takes as its goal an endeavor to keep in line with the reality of Chinese society and to render service to the building of a socialist modern state, this determines that our sociology must achieve its growth in the soil of our own country. Sociology is a superstructure of a given society under given conditions; the various concepts which make up sociology come from, and are applied to, the realities of a given, specific society. Today there are in the world still different societies and nations of different cultures; the sociologies of all countries inevitably exhibit their own respective characteristics. Our sociology must reflect the Chinese society of a socialist nature and the characteristics of the Chinese people. We must predicate ourselves upon having our feet planted in the reality of our current Chinese society and, through the test of practice, gradually develop our own sociology. This is a formidable task, the accomplishment of which requires the efforts of several generations. But a journey of 1,000 li begins with a first step. We have the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and we have the guarantee of the socialist system, so our goal is bound to be attained.

In order to realize this goal, we must have a contingent of forces capable of making such efforts. Scientific work is honest, careful specialized work; without a scientifically trained contingent of forces and without going through a long period of hard labor, success can hardly be achieved. But in our country, because institutions of higher learning have for many years not trained any sociological workers, those who studied sociology in the past were by no means numerous and they are now mostly rather old, with their undertakings neglected and their knowledge out of date, the difficulty we encounter first in our endeavor to launch our sociology is a manpower shortage.

We are forced to take the training of a new generation of sociologists as the primary task in our current effort to reestablish this science. In order to gain time, apart from training them in our universities we must also break conventions and adopt the method of carrying out study and teaching simultaneously. That is, we must absorb the middle-aged teachers of other sciences who are cultivated in Marxism and the cadres of various relevant

departments who are experienced in social work, have them study sociology on a short-term basis, and then organize them to carry out social surveys and compile teaching materials for various subjects of sociology and thereby train them to become the sociological research personnel of various organs and the teachers of sociology of various schools.

In trying to reestablish our sociology, we must adhere to the principle of uniting theory with reality and linking teaching with scientific research. Natural sciences cannot depart from experiments; social sciences cannot depart from social surveys. Social surveys are purposeful and systematic observations of social phenomena which provide data for the exploration of the laws of social movement. Living in society, man cannot be totally ignorant about society. But such knowledge as can be derived from life and practice is not only limited and partial, but often a case of conveying what things are but not why they are. In order to obtain scientific knowledge about society, we must aim at specific problems, carry out systematic observations in specific contexts, and, after analysis and rearrangement, raise them to the level of theoretical perception. Therefore, a sociology that is rooted in the reality of Chinese society must begin by scientifically investigating Chinese society.

Promoting social surveys is our party's fine tradition. In the environment of warfare in the early years, what was adopted was mainly the approach of selecting models and carrying out brief, face-to-face conversations in order to carry out social surveys; that was the approach of "dissecting a sparrow" or a key-point social survey. It was the most basic type and method of scientific social investigation and also the type and method that has proved in practice to be effective and highly fruitful.

While this key-point social investigation has been indeed a truly effective type and method, to which we should adhere and give further scope, we should also see its limitation. This type and method is not suitable for application to objects of research that are broad in substantive coverage and wide in physical extent. It may be able to dissect a "sparrow," examine various ingredients of a social model, present meticulous descriptions, and achieve definitive results, but it can hardly correctly indicate in quantitative terms the status and relative weight of such a model in the broader realm. Therefore, to further develop our social survey we must still supplement it with survey methods that are suitable for application in larger areas; that is, we must achieve unity between spot survey and area survey. In an area survey, the method generally is to take a specific problem as a point of departure, adopt a series of quantitatively measurable indicators, compile a questionnaire, ask those subject to the survey to fill it in according to their respective situations, and thereby derive statistics and achieve quantified results. When this method is adopted, the number of people subject to the survey can be very big and is not limited by the ability of the individual surveyor himself; in particular, because modern computing tools are well developed and capable of handling huge figures, they are beyond the imagination of the handicraft approach of the past. Whether or not this survey method can succeed in authentically reflecting social realities is determined by how questions and measuring indicators are formulated, how questionnaires are compiled, how after the questionnaires are compiled these

questionnaires are distributed and filled out according to relevant sampling, and how through statistics the figures are finally interpreted. In order to be able to correctly solve these problems in accordance with scientific requirements, we must rely on key-point surveys beforehand and key-point verifications afterward. Hence, spot survey and area survey must be combined, characterization and quantification must be combined, as they are not in contradiction, but mutually supplementary.

Both spot and area social surveys require down-to-earth basic training. Key-point surveys must be brought deep into the ranks of the masses; we must participate in their life; we must not only visit and observe them but also go through living with them together before we can understand their thinking and their attitudes. We must be good at living with the masses, good at making observation and analysis, capable of selecting some guidelines out of complicated conditions of real life and observing the relationship between them, making comprehensive comparisons, and elevating our understanding to the theoretical level. It is incorrect to take this kind of investigation and study work as simple and easy "cursory observation." We must undertake sufficient preparations and basic training; not be afraid of hardship, tiring work, and involved dealings; and train ourselves in practice in a preserving manner, before we can become authentic social investigators. Area social surveys also cannot be accomplished just by randomly compiling questionnaires and bringing them back and summarizing the statistics they provide. Without penetrating understanding of the questions under survey, it is impossible to formulate appropriate questionnaires. As to how sampling should be carried out in order to have the overall situation reflected and how to persuade those subject to survey to honestly fill out the questionnaires, problems of this sort must all be solved with flexibility according to local circumstances. In carrying out analysis and compiling statistics after the questionnaires are gathered, we must adopt various methods and tools of computation. With respect to figures obtained from the statistics, we must further keep in mind pertinent related conditions and study them again and again in order to understand their implications. For the sake of doing a good job in our investigation and study, we must never overlook basic training.

Social change has its historical process to follow; in order to understand today's society we must compare it with yesterday's society. Hence, in carrying out a social survey in a certain locality, we should observe it regularly, being able at least to carry out additional surveys at short intervals in order to observe the change. Our past social surveys were often carried out in conjunction with certain political tasks; once a movement passed, such survey data were then thrown away; few were able to accumulate the various surveys of a locality and carry out a comparative study to see the laws of change therein. And because of this lack of accumulated data, even when another survey was conducted in the same locality, it had to start from scratch again. This approach can hardly yield penetrating surveys, and it also tends to unnecessarily waste people's energy. Therefore, our social surveys from now on should be carried out in a planned way again and again in the already surveyed areas where basic conditions are also mastered in order to make it possible to compare the surveys at various times and thereby observe social change as well as to have surveys of different aspects

complement each other and make obvious the connections between them. Areas subject to such repeated surveys may be called base areas for social survey, which are namely the scientific observation stations in our society. We can imagine that in different areas of the country many base areas for social survey are established where regular observation is feasible; when we need to understand certain of the country's social conditions, it is possible for us to obtain fairly accurate data in a short period of time. Compared to the "public opinion polls" conducted in certain countries of the West, the results can be far more advanced scientifically. At present, this exists only in our imagination, which is still some distance from reality.

The issue of investigation and study should be closely linked to the actual situation and problems of our current socialist economic development. We must not only set our eyes on the questions of social ills with which people in our society are concerned, such as crimes being committed by youths and children, but we need also to study certain basic phenomena, such as current urban-rural relations, family structure, city planning, population quality, plant management, etc. At present, there exist in our superstructure and ideology many problems which require sociological workers to carry out pertinent social surveys in order to have systematic, analyzed reliable data submitted to the decisionmakers. We must critically accept various past and foreign sociological achievements in the manner of seeking truth from facts by eliminating the dross and preserving the essential; first of all, we must learn to understand the sociology of foreign countries and then criticize it; sociology itself must also become the object of our sociological study. This includes analyzing the historical backgrounds of the sociological theories of various countries in various periods by historical materialism, examining the roles they have played in society at the time, and also studying the use to which we can put in our current socialist construction. It is time for us to begin this study. For the sake of fostering the next generation, we must also have a subject which introduces us to Western society. A relatively realistic approach is to select certain representative sociologists among those in the West and study them one by one.

Furthermore, we must continue to develop academic exchanges with foreign countries. During the past 3 years we have already established contacts with sociological groups or individuals in Japan, the United States, Canada, Australia, Britain, West Germany, Yugoslavia, France and such countries, and carried out exchanges. We are an open country; the closed-door days have now passed. For the sake of learning from each other, mutual visits by social groups and individuals are mutually stimulating beneficial activities. In spite of the fact that we have different social systems from some countries, friendly exchanges are necessary.

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